

1 **Adverse childhood experiences during childhood and academic attainment at age 7 and 11**
2 **years: an electronic birth cohort study**

3
4 **Abstract**

5 **Objectives**

6 Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) have a negative impact on childhood health, but their impact
7 on education outcomes is less well-known. We investigated whether or not ACEs were associated
8 with reduced educational attainment at age 7 and 11 years.

9 **Study design**

10 Population based electronic cohort study

11 **Methods**

12 We analysed data from a total population electronic child cohort in Wales, UK. ACEs (exposures)
13 were living with an adult household member with any of (i) serious mental illness (SMI), (ii) common
14 mental disorder (CMD), (iii) an alcohol problem; (iv) child victimisation, (v) death of a household
15 member and (vi) low family income. We used multilevel logistic regression to model exposure to
16 these ACEs and not attaining the expected level at statutory education assessments, Key Stage (KS) 1
17 and KS2 separately, adjusted for known confounders including perinatal, socio-economic and school
18 factors.

19 **Results**

20 There were 107,479 and 43,648 children included in the analysis, with follow-up to 6-7 years (KS1)
21 and 10-11 years (KS2) respectively. An increased risk of not attaining the expected level at KS1 was
22 associated with living with adult household members with CMD (aOR 1.13 (95% CI 1.09-1.17) or an
23 alcohol problem (aOR 1.16 (95% CI 1.10-1.22), childhood victimisation (aOR 1.58 (95% CI 1.37-
24 1.82), death of a household member (aOR 1.14 95% CI 1.04-1.25) and low family income (aOR 1.92
25 95% CI 1.84-2.01). Similar results were observed for KS2. Children with multiple adversities had
26 substantially increased odds of not attaining the expected level at each educational assessment.

27 **Conclusion**

28 The educational potential of many children may not be achieved due to exposure to adversity in
29 childhood. Affected children who come in to contact with services should have relevant information
30 shared between health and care services, and schools to initiate and facilitate a coordinated approach
31 towards providing additional support and help for them to fulfil their educational potential, and
32 subsequent economic and social participation.

33
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35 Economic and Social Research Council, Medical Research Council, Alcohol Research UK, Public Health Wales.

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38

39 **Introduction**

40 Academic achievement during childhood is influenced by complex interactions between a range of
41 biological, social and environmental factors including the home environment. Mental disorders and
42 alcohol misuse are common in families. Although severe mental illnesses such as schizophrenia and
43 bipolar disorder affect 1–2% of adults in the U.K.,^{1,2} common mental disorders (CMD), including
44 depression, anxiety, panic, and somatisation, can affect 16% of adults.³ Alcohol misuse is also
45 prevalent, affecting 8% - 10% of adults and a significant proportion also have co-occurring mental
46 disorders.⁴ We previously estimated that 30% of infants lived with an adult who had a mental
47 disorder⁵ and up to 30% of children have been reported to live with an adult binge drinker.⁶

48

49 Experience during childhood of long-term or acute stress for example due to mental disorders, alcohol
50 related problems or a death in the household have been shown to increase the risk of unplanned
51 hospital admissions during childhood, poorer mental and physical health (increased risk of cancer and
52 cardiovascular disease), as well as negative social outcomes during adulthood (e.g. leaving school
53 without qualifications, unemployment and incarceration).⁷ The impact of these adverse experiences on
54 education outcomes in school age children is less well-known.

55

56 Adverse childhood experiences are thought to elevate glucocorticoid hormones (cortisol), with
57 chronic stress impeding the regulation of stress physiology. For example, children exposed to
58 maternal depression have been shown to have higher levels of salivary cortisol, which could be a
59 mediator in the pathway between chronic stress and lower executive functioning (e.g. working
60 memory).⁸ Differences in brain activity and hippocampal volume have also been observed according
61 to whether or not children have experienced maltreatment or neglect, but the reasons for this are
62 unclear.^{9,10} The pre-frontal cortex and executive functions of the brain are known to be sensitive to
63 stress,¹¹ therefore we hypothesised that exposure to adverse childhood experiences impacts negatively
64 on educational attainment during childhood, and contributes to the observed inequalities in education
65 outcomes in children. Understanding the contribution of childhood adversity that may be preventable
66 to the observed social inequalities in education outcomes is important to help us understand the
67 potential impact that interventions that build resilience and mitigate the effects of early adversity can
68 have on later health, wellbeing, economic activity and social participation.

69

70 In this study we investigated whether or not adverse childhood experiences were associated with
71 reduced educational attainment at age 7 and 11 years, and the magnitude of these effects, whilst
72 taking in to account the effects of area level social deprivation, school factors, household composition,
73 socio-demographic and perinatal health indicators using linked administrative datasets. We also

74 explored whether or not children who experienced adversity were more likely to have special
75 education needs requiring learning support.

76 **Methods**

77

78 **Data sources and study design**

79

80 The Wales Electronic Cohort for Children (WECC), has records for 981 404 children born between
81 1990 and 2012, for a child or mother resident in Wales¹² with information held in the Wales
82 Demographic Service Dataset (a Wales-wide administrative register for all individuals with a general
83 practitioner (GP)). WECC is derived by record-linking de-identified routinely collected health and
84 social datasets described in Table 1, using a unique Anonymised Linking Field (ALF) for each
85 individual. It is accessed through the Secure Anonymised Information Linkage (SAIL) databank at
86 Swansea University, UK.^{13,14} To enable individuals living in the same household to be anonymously
87 linked, residential anonymised linking fields (RALFs) were created by encrypting individual's
88 addresses for the study period.^{15,16}

89

90 **Table 1: Data sources**

Datasets*	Data source**
Wales Electronic Cohort for Children	Wales Demographic Service Office of National Statistics birth records Office of National Statistics death records National Community and Child Health database Congenital Anomaly Register and Information Service
Hospital inpatient admission data	Patient Episode Dataset for Wales
General Practice data	General Practice Database
Education data	Pupil Annual School Census National Pupil Database

*Datasets were linked for each child's record using an anonymised linking field based on their NHS number produced by the NHS Wales Informatics Service (NWIS), a NHS trusted third party, with more than 99.85% accuracy.¹⁴
** data sources are described in supplementary Table 1.

91

92

93 We included children who had data available for statutory educational assessments in the UK at age
94 6-7 years and 10-11 years, and for whom adult household members had sufficient GP data to ascertain
95 exposure measures. Exclusions are described in figure 1. To preserve the temporal order of exposure
96 and outcomes in the analyses, only those children who took the statutory assessment at the expected
97 age (using proxy start date of 1st May for each year) were included in the analyses.

98

99 The Wales Electronic Cohort for Children was approved by an independent Information Governance
100 Review Panel. The Wales Electronic Cohort for Children was judged by the Research Ethics
101 Committee for Wales to be an anonymised research database that does not require ethical review, in
102 line with National Ethics Committee guidance.

103

104 **Outcomes**

105 Children in Wales have two statutory assessments during compulsory education that is normally
106 taught between ages 5-7 years and 8-11 years¹⁷ (two further assessments are taken at age 13-14 and
107 age 15-16 years). In this analysis, the education outcomes were attaining the expected level in
108 statutory assessment at (i) age 6-7 years, Key Stage 1 (KS1) and (ii) age 10-11 years, Key Stage 2
109 (KS2). KS1 and KS2 are teacher assessments (rather than formal tests) in three core subjects (a
110 language, mathematics and science) where an overall binary measure is derived to indicate whether
111 the expected standard is met or not.

112

113 A third outcome about provision of extra learning support for a child at school (Special Educational
114 Need (SEN) provision) was also investigated as an indicator of impaired academic performance. This
115 was coded as a yes/no binary variable, indicating any help received by a child, which may include one
116 to one help or support through external provision to the school (described in UK local educational
117 authority schools as School action, School action plus and Statemented).

118

119 **Exposures**

120 Exposure was measured (i) between birth to age 6-7 years (KS1) and (ii) between birth to age 10-11
121 years (KS2). Household members were defined as those living in the same household as the child on
122 their 1st, 5th and 8th birthday.

123

124 We defined six measures of childhood adversity. Three of these related to living with an adult
125 household member with any of: (i) serious mental illness diagnosis (e.g. bipolar disorder,
126 schizophrenia);¹⁸ (ii) CMD (e.g. depression, anxiety)¹⁹ and (iii) an alcohol problem defined by a
127 record of heavy drinking in primary care records²⁰ or an alcohol-related hospital admission²¹, dating
128 back to 1998. The fourth measure was childhood victimisation defined as an inpatient hospital
129 admission of the child where victimisation was a contributing reason for admission²². The fifth
130 measure was death of a household member and the sixth measure was low family income, defined as
131 eligibility for free school meals in the year the Key Stage assessment was taken.

132

133 We used validated algorithms for ascertaining cases of CMD using diagnosis, symptoms and
134 treatments¹⁹ and lifetime diagnosis of psychotic disorders¹⁸ recorded in GP datasets. Problematic
135 alcohol use among household members was ascertained using a set of General Practice symptoms,
136 diagnosis and procedures (Read Version 2) codes that we had previously defined²⁰ for current or past
137 heavy alcohol drinking (anything above the recommended limit), alcoholic disease (liver or other),
138 poisoning or treatment evidence and/or any alcohol-related emergency hospital admission during the
139 exposure period. Childhood victimisation was ascertained using a defined set of ICD-10 codes in any
140 position of the first consultant episode of an inpatient hospital admission²². For adult household

141 members living with the child at age 1 year, we separated out the presence of alcohol-related
142 problems, CMD or serious mental illness according to whether they were recorded before the birth of
143 the child (pre-birth) or during the first year of life.

144

145 **Statistical analysis**

146

147 We used multilevel logistic regression to model exposure to adverse childhood experiences and (i) not
148 attaining the expected level at KS1 and KS2 separately and (ii) receipt of special educational need
149 provision. Multilevel modelling was used to include the hierarchical structure of children within
150 schools, so that correlation attributable to schools could be included in the modelling. For each
151 exposure, we estimated odds ratios (ORs) with 95% confidence intervals (CI), adjusting for
152 confounding variables. We used likelihood ratios to test two-way interaction terms between
153 exposures, and between each exposure and each of maternal age, single adult household, and small-
154 area deprivation. We repeated the analyses to estimate ORs for any SEN provision allocated in the
155 year the Key Stage assessment was taken, adjusted for maternal and perinatal characteristics.

156

157 A Direct Acyclic Graph (DAG)²³ was drawn to visualise confounding relationships and obtain a
158 minimal sufficient adjustment set of potential confounders for analyses (figure 2 & 3). We adjusted
159 for household composition (living in a single adult household) and measures of social disadvantage
160 including young maternal age (<18 years) and small-area deprivation (based on Townsend score,²⁴
161 using the 2001 census for income and address). Perinatal factors (such as gestational age, academic
162 season of birth, and breastfeeding at birth or 6–8 weeks [when the NHS collects such data]) were
163 adjusted for as the DAG confirmed these factors were on the causal pathway but were not mediators
164 between adverse childhood experiences and educational attainment. We also adjusted for school
165 factors (number of school moves, average size of school and percentage of children eligible for free
166 school meals) at each Key Stage assessment.

167

168 Data were missing for breastfeeding (22% and 42%) and maternal smoking (70% and 80%) in the
169 KS1 and KS2 cohorts respectively. The slightly higher proportions in the KS2 cohort were due to
170 lower data completeness in the earlier years of the cohort. Tabulations by year and unitary authority
171 showed that these could be reasonably assumed to be missing at random, due to organisational and
172 administrative differences in data collection between hospitals. There was little difference between
173 statistical model imputations for these variables so we concluded that the cohorts were large enough
174 to give sufficient precision. All other variables had less than 5% missing data. Multiple imputation
175 with chained equations²⁵ was used to account for missing data with all covariates and the outcome
176 variable included in the imputation model as described by White and Royston.²⁶ The results of the

177 multilevel modelling were consistent for complete case and the imputed dataset, so we present results
178 from the multiply imputed datasets. We used Stata IC (version 13) for statistical analyses.

179

180 **Role of the funding source**

181

182 The funders had no role in designing the study, data collection, analysis, or interpretation, or in
183 writing the report. MAB's role in the design, analysis, and writing was independent of the funding
184 from Public Health Wales. The corresponding author had full access to all the data in the study and
185 final responsibility for the decision to submit for publication.

186

187 **Results**

188 There were 107,479 and 43,648 children in the cohort between 1998 and 2012 who were included in
189 this analysis, with follow-up to 6-7 years (KS1) and 10-11 years (KS2) respectively (figure 1).

190 Sociodemographic characteristics of the children were representative of national population statistics
191 in both cohorts (Supplementary table 2). About 3% of children (n=3,313) were born to a mother who
192 was under 18 years of age at childbirth, and 35,651 (33.2%) had lived in a single adult household (16+
193 years of age) between birth and age 6-7 years.

194

195 Overall 19,508 (18.2%) of children did not attain the expected levels at KS1, 8462 (19.4%) did not
196 attain the expected level at KS2, 27,393 (25.5%) and 11,910 (27.3%) had some SEN provision in the
197 year they took KS1 and 2 (Table 1).

198

199 15,553 (14.5%) children aged 1 year lived with an adult who had a history of CMD, and 41,257
200 (38.4%) children lived with an adult who had a CMD between birth and age 6-7 years (Table 1). Less
201 than 1% of children had lived with an adult who had a serious mental illness. Children who lived with
202 adult household members with common mental disorder had an increased odds of not attaining both
203 KS1 (aOR 1.13 (95% CI 1.09-1.17) and KS2 aOR 1.13 (95%CI 1.07-1.19). A record of serious
204 mental illness in a household adult between birth and KS1 was also associated with increased odds of
205 not attaining KS1 (aOR 1.21 (95% CI 1.02-1.42) but not at KS2 (aOR 0.97 (95% CI 0.79-1.19)). The
206 magnitude of effect for these two exposures at KS1 are similar because the majority of children in this
207 cohort (67.6%) who lived with an adult who had a serious mental illness were also exposed to CMD
208 in the household (Table 2).

209

210 Eleven percent of children in the KS1 cohort (n=12,224) and 17.1% (n=7,480) in the KS2 cohort had
211 lived with an adult with an alcohol related problem; these children had an increased odds for not
212 attaining KS1 (aOR 1.16 (95% CI 1.10-1.22) and KS2 (aOR 1.16 (95% CI 1.09-1.24)), after adjusting
213 for perinatal, socio-demographic, other adverse experiences and school factors.

214

215 One percent of children were admitted to hospital during the study period with recorded victimisation,
216 and this group were also less likely to attain KS1 (aOR 1.58 (95% CI 1.37-1.82) and KS2 (aOR 1.88
217 (95% CI 1.52-2.33)) and more likely to have received SEN provision at KS1 (aOR 1.90 (95% CI
218 1.66-2.17) and at KS2 (aOR 1.79 (95% CI 1.46-2.20).

219

220 About three percent of children in the cohort experienced the death of a household member and this
221 was associated with an increased odds of not attaining KS1 (aOR 1.14 95% CI 1.04-1.25) and KS2
222 (aOR 1.13 95% CI 1.03-1.25). Low family income (measured as eligibility for a free school meal in
223 the year of taking KS1 or KS2) was also associated with an increased odds of not attaining KS1 (aOR
224 1.92 95% CI 1.84-2.01) and KS2 (aOR 1.65 95% CI 1.53-1.78).

225

226 The effects of socio-economic deprivation were similar on attainment at KS1 and 2, with lower levels
227 of attainment associated with higher levels of social deprivation. Young maternal age and percentage
228 of free school meals in the school attended in the Key Stage year, were both associated with lower
229 educational attainment, although the magnitude of these associations were slightly smaller at KS2
230 compared with KS1. Children born to older mothers 30+ years were more likely to receive SEN
231 provision at KS1, while children born to younger mothers (under 24 years) were more likely to
232 receive this at KS2.

233

234 The inclusion of the two-way interaction terms between exposures, and between exposures and each
235 of maternal age, single adult household, and small-area deprivation did not improve the fit of the
236 model to the data at the 5% level. Where present, interactions failed to show consistent,
237 monotonically increasing or decreasing patterns of adjustment to the main effects of interest.
238 Moreover, they did not alter any of our substantive findings, consisting of changes to the third or
239 fourth decimal place. Consequently, interactions were excluded in subsequent modelling and
240 interpretation.

241

242 Children who had multiple adversities had substantially increased odds of not attaining the expected
243 level at each educational assessment as shown in figure 4, signalling a clear need for early
244 intervention in this group intervention to mitigate . For example the odds of not attaining KS1 are
245 3.59 times higher (aOR 3.59 95%CI 3.25-3.96) for a child who lives in a household in an area with
246 the highest level of social deprivation, is eligible for free school meals, and lives with an adult who
247 has a common mental disorder and alcohol related problems, compared with a similar child who lives
248 in a household in an area with the lowest level of social deprivation (Table 4). These data signal a
249 clear need for early identification of this group and intervention to mitigate the impacts of multiple
250 childhood adversities on education and subsequent longer-term social and economic outcomes.

251

252 **Discussion**

253

254 This study shows that children exposed to adverse experiences during childhood were less likely,
255 compared to non-exposed peers, to attain the expected level of education at age 6-7 years (KS1) and
256 age 10-11 years (KS2) after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, perinatal health
257 indicators, household composition and school factors. The magnitude of this association varied
258 according to the type and timing of exposure. For example, exposure during the first year of life to
259 adults who had a history of CMD had a lower magnitude of effect on KS attainment compared to
260 exposure during the years leading up to taking the KS assessments. The observed effect sizes for
261 exposure to mental disorder or alcohol problems in the household were in addition to those observed
262 for living in areas with high levels of social deprivation, suggesting that reducing the prevalence of
263 these household exposures as well as ensuring children who are exposed are identified early and
264 supported appropriately could make a difference to educational outcomes. The effects of these
265 exposures were cumulative, such that children who had multiple exposures had an even higher
266 likelihood of not attaining the expected level at KS assessments. Childhood victimisation and low
267 family income had the biggest effect sizes for not attaining the Key Stages, possibly reflecting the
268 severity of these exposures. Our measure of victimisation was based on hospital admissions only and
269 is therefore likely to underestimate the true impact of victimisation on education outcomes. These
270 findings highlight the importance trauma informed services for early detection of and intervention for
271 affected children, including the need for additional support to mitigate the future impact on
272 educational outcomes. Death of a household member was also associated with an increased risk of not
273 attaining the expected level at KS assessments. We did not have sufficient data to explore this effect
274 according to the relationship between the child and household member who had died or age at which
275 this occurred. Further work is needed to fully understand how and in what circumstances death in a
276 household impacts on a child's health and wellbeing.

277

278 Only one previous study has investigated the impact of multiple adverse experiences during childhood
279 on educational outcome.²⁷ This Australian study reported that alcohol use, mental health issues and
280 death of a parent increased the risk of poorer reading attainment at age 8 years but their analyses did
281 not take account of differences in school factors, or examine the cumulative effects of child adversity
282 on educational outcome. Other studies have included wider age ranges of children between 5 to 17
283 years, reported detrimental effects on educational attainment for household alcohol misuse,²⁷⁻³⁰ mental
284 health³¹, or death in the household,³²⁻³⁴ and victimisation of the child.³⁵⁻³⁷ Most of these studies
285 examined the impact of single adverse exposures and none adjusted for the multiple confounders of

286 deprivation, birth and socio-demographic characteristics, and school factors including school
287 concentration of poverty as we have done in our analysis.
288 We have previously shown that some adverse childhood experiences are socio-economically patterned
289 and that these rarely occur in isolation.^{5,7} Our study therefore adds to the current body of evidence by
290 considering the collective impact of a range of adverse exposures in the household, in addition to
291 socio-economic indicators on educational outcomes.

292 The key strength of this study is that it measures adverse exposures in the household using
293 administrative and healthcare data. This addresses the limitation of some previous studies which have
294 relied on self-reported data to ascertain exposure during childhood. It also uses data on a wide range
295 of perinatal, socio-demographic and school level data, to take account of the complex relationships
296 between these variables and the association between adverse childhood experiences and educational
297 outcomes. One limitation is the reliance on coding of administrative data and potential for
298 misspecification of coding, however any misclassification is unlikely to disproportionately affect one
299 group over another and so is unlikely to have created a bias in any particular direction. We did not
300 have data on parental education or IQ (as a proxy for variation in school engagement) nor on contact
301 with social care and therefore could not explore the role of these variables. Our data showed that 27%
302 of children had SEN provision however we were unable to explore any unmet need or the
303 appropriateness of this provision for individual children.

304

305 At a population level, our study demonstrates how the educational potential of many children may not
306 be achieved due to exposure to adversity in childhood. Although the distribution of adverse childhood
307 experiences are socially patterned, our results suggest that the impacts of ACEs on educational
308 outcomes are in addition to those related to social deprivation. Thus, a combination of poverty and
309 childhood exposure to household mental disorders and alcohol related problems increases the
310 likelihood of failing the basic educational tests in language and maths by over 350% for children
311 living in the most compared to least deprived areas.

312 Critically, a poor start in education has been strongly linked with poorer educational outcomes across
313 all schooling years, poorer employment prospects and consequently a poor economic outlook across
314 the life course.^{7,38-40} Consequently, exposure to ACEs increases the chances that children develop into
315 adults with poor economic prospects; contributing to a cycle of hardship that fuels inequalities and
316 potentially locks families into deprivation and ill health across generations. There are already a range
317 of evidence-based interventions that provide parent and care-giver support,^{41,42} pre-school
318 enrichment^{43,44} and increasingly, trauma-informed educational services.^{45,46} It is no longer a lack of
319 effective interventions or sound economic arguments that is preventing safe and secure childhoods. It
320 is only a question of the political investment necessary to ensure subsequent generations achieve their
321 full potential for themselves and for the prosperity of communities in which they live.

322

323 In conclusion our study shows that children living with adults who have mental disorders or alcohol
324 problems, who have experienced victimisation or experienced a death in the family are at increased
325 risk of not achieving their educational potential. As these experiences are relatively common, it is
326 important that appropriate conversations are initiated when affected children come in to contact with
327 health and care services, and that relevant information is shared between health and care services and
328 schools to facilitate a coordinated approach to tackle adverse household exposures such as alcohol
329 misuse and family violence as early as possible, whilst supporting affected families and children. It is
330 also important that schools are adequately resourced to provide the additional support needed for
331 children from affected families to reduce their risk of lower educational outcomes and help them to
332 fulfil their educational potential, and subsequent economic and social participation.

333

334 **Author statement**

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338 and writing was independent of the funding from Public Health Wales. The corresponding author had
339 full access to all the data in the study and final responsibility for the decision to submit for publication.
340 The authors do not have any competing interests to declare.

341

342

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